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ANCIENT INDIA

(6th Century B.C.)

By

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PREFACE

In this short treatise an attempt has been made to present a connected history of India in the 6th century B.C. I have endeavoured to make my treatment lucid and intelligible to laymen as well as to scholars. This booklet consists of five sections: (1) Geographical position, (2) Kings and Peoples, (3) Social and Economic life, (4) Religion, and (5) Culture. The original sources have been used together with the relevant data from modern literature. A careful study has been made of the available textual evidences bearing upon the topics treated in it. A book of this kind is a longfelt want, and I have tried to remove it to some extent.

Calcutta,
43 Kailas Bose Street, }
June, 1947.

B. C. LAW.

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SECTION I

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

India as known to the Buddhists as Jambudīpa and to the Brahmins and Jains as Bhāratavarṣa is counted as one of the seven or nine countries of Greater Asia. Jambudīpa figures as one of the four great continents with Sineru in the centre. The eastern continent is placed to the east of Sineru, the western continent (Aparagoyāna) to the west, the northern continent (Uttarakuru) to the north, and the southern continent or Jambudīpa to the south. India is pictured in the Buddhist texts in the shape of a bullock cart with its face towards the south. It is extended on the north. The surface of India is one of the convex shape of the upper shell of a tortoise according to the Brahmanic source.

The Jain account narrates that the Vaitādhya (Vindhya) mountain divides India into two halves—the northern half later called *Āryāvarta* and the southern half later called *Dākṣiṇātya* or Deccan. The Himalaya mountain is one of the seven mountain ranges that guard India on the north. Jambudīpa extends over a distance of ten thousand leagues of which four thousand are covered by seas, three thousand by the Himalayas, and three thousand only are inhabited by men. The broad divisions of India, according to the Buddhist account, are six in number: (1) Middle country (*Madhyadeśa*), (2) Himalayan region (*Himavanta*), (3) North-western region (*Uttarāpatha*), (4) Deccan (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*), (5) Eastern India (*Pubbanta* or *Prācyā*), and (6) Western India (*Aparānta*). The Middle Country extends in the east to the town of Kajaṅgala, beyond which was the town of Mahāsāla, in the south-east to the river Sarasvatī, in the south to the town of Seta-kāṇṇika, in the west to the Brahmin district of Thūna and in the north to the Uśiradhvaja mountain (Usiragiri to the north of Karikhal). The eastern boundary is further extended to include Puṇḍravardhana which in ancient times included Varendra roughly identical with north Bengal. The principal cities which are included in the Middle Country are the following:—Campā (Campānagar and Campāpura near Bhāgalpur), Rājagṛha (mod. Rājgīr), Śrāvastī (mod. Sāhetḥ-Māhetḥ), Sāketa (the later capital of Kośala—some are of the opinion that Sāketa and Ayodhyā are identical), Kauśāmbī (mod. Kosam near Allahabad), Bārāṇasī (Benares), Vaiśālī (mod. Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district), Mithilā

(mod. Tirhut, the capital of Videhā), Kuśinārā (Kusinagara) and Pāvā (Pāvāpurī).

The important rivers included in this division are the following:—Bāhukā, Sundarikā, Sarasvatī, Vāhumatī, Gayā, Payāga, Adhikakkā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarabhū, Aciravatī, Mahī and Mahānadi. The Bāhukā (Bāhudā) river is the same as the river Dhavalā now called Burha Rapti. Vāhumatī is identical with Bāghmatī, a sacred river of Nepal. The river Aciravatī near Śrāvastī is the river Rapti in Oudh, which is a tributary of the river Sarayū. The Mahānadi is the Sōn river. To the east beyond the river Payāga the united flow of the Ganges and Jumna bears the name of Gaṅgā which forms a boundary between the kingdoms of Kāśī and Magadha.

Among the mountains, hills and caves of the Middle country, mention may be made of the Gayāsīsa, Vaibhāragiri, Vepulla Mt., Kāḷasilā, Gijjhakūṭa, Hinavanta, Indasāla and Sattapaṇṇi caves. The Gayāsīsa Mt. is the modern Brahmayoni. Its shape is like that of an elephant. A set of hills under the name of Khalatika finds mention in the Barabar hill cave inscriptions of Āśoka and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. The same is known in the *Mahābhārata* as Gorathagiri. The five hills encircling the city of Rājagṛha were named as Isigili, Vebhāra, Paṇḍava, Vepulla, and Gijjhakūṭa. The Vebhāra and Paṇḍava stood side by side. If one enters Rājgir from the north, the hill lying to the right is Vaibhāragiri; that lying to the left is Vipulagiri; the one which stands at right angles to the Vipula and runs southward parallel to the Vaibhāra is Ratnagiri; the one forming the eastern extension of the Ratnagiri is Chathāgiri; and the hill standing next to Chathāgiri is Śailagiri. The one opposite to the Chathāgiri is Udayagiri; that lying to the south of Ratnagiri and the west of the Udayagiri is Sonagiri. The Vaibhāragiri extends southward and westward ultimately to form the western entrance of Rājgir with the Sonagiri. The Kāḷasilā was a black rock on a side of Isigili and there was an echoing peak called Paṭibhānakūṭa. The Indakūṭa was near Gijjhakūṭa. The Vedyaka hill has been identified with the Giriyaḥ containing the famous cave called Indasālaguhā. The group of five Rājgir hills formed the head and the Vedyaka tail of one and the same short range running from west to east over a distance of nine miles from Rājgir to the village of Giriyaḥ. The Vaibhāra hill is one of the sacred hills of the Jains affording the possibility of the formation of wells (*kundās*) of tepid and cold water. The Pippali and Sattapaṇṇi caves are associated with the Vaibhāra hill.

Both of them were situated on the north side of this hill. There were crevices four of which were important. The Pāsāṇaka-cetiya was a holy rock near Rājagṛha. The Gijjhakūṭa mountain is a part of the Śailagiri, the vulture peak of Fa-Hien and Indasilāguhā of Hiuen Tsang. It lies two miles and a half to the south-east of modern Rajgir. It is called Giriyaḥ hill. The Gandhamādana mountain is a part of the Rudra-himālaya; but according to some it is a part of the Kailāsa mountain. The Citrakūṭa has been identified with Kāmtanāthagiri in Bundelkhand. It is about 4 miles from the Citrakūṭa station of the G.I.P. Rly. The Indasāla cave has been identified with the Giriyaḥ hill. The Mt. Meru is identical with the Rudra-himālaya in Garhwal where the Ganges takes its rise. It is near Badarikāśrama. The Himalaya mountain is described in the Buddhist texts as the *pabbatarāja* or the king of mountains. According to a Buddhist text, five hundred rivers issued forth from this mountain.

There were some natural forests and hill tracts in the middle country. The Kurujāṅgala was a wild region in the kingdom of the Kurus. The Añjanavana at Sāketa, the Mahāvana at Vaiśālī and the Mahāvana at Kapilavastu were the natural forests. The Pārileyyakavana was an elephant forest situated at some distance from the city of Kauśāmbī and on the way to Śrāvastī. The Lumbinivana situated on the bank of the river Rohiṇī was a similar forest. The Sālavana of the Mallas at Kuśinārā, the Bhesakaḷavana at Sumsumāragira in the realm of the Bhaggas, the Simsapāvana at Kauśāmbī, and the Pippalivana of the Moriyas may be cited as typical examples of natural forests. Kajaṅgala which lay to the east of Aṅga and extended from the Ganges in the north-east to the Suvarṇarekhā in the south-east was an extensive hill tract. The Viñjhātavi was a forest without any human habitation. The Lumbinivana is Rumminidei in Nepal Terai, two miles to the north of Bhagavānpur and about a mile to the north of Paderia. The Mahāvana was a natural forest outside the town of Vaiśālī, lying in one stretch up to the Himalayas. The Ambapālavana was in Vaiśālī (modern Basar in the Muzaffarpur district). The Daṇḍakāranya, according to Pargiter, comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand to the river Krishṇā.

Besides the natural forests there are many private and royal gardens and parks. The Pubbārāma, Bhesakaḷavana, Nigrodhārāma, Jetavana, the Migadāya at Isipatana near Benares and the one at Maddakucchi at Rājagṛha are noteworthy.

Eastern India may be defined as the extreme eastern part of India lying to the east of the Middle country. The eastern boundary of Eastern India extended up to Kajaṅgala or Puṇḍravardhana. Vaṅga is mentioned as an important centre of trade and commerce. The western extremity of Vaṅga bordered on Aṅga-Magadha. The district of Lāḷa was situated between Vaṅga on one side and Kaliṅga on the other. Subsequently Vaṅga came to denote eastern Bengal. Suvannakūṭa or Suvannakudda was another centre of trade and commerce. Some have located it in Kāmarūpa. The Suhma country was visited by the Buddha. The seaport town of Tāmalitti is now situated on the western bank of the Rūpnārāyaṇa. It is modern Tamluk in the district of Midnapur. Vardhamānapura is identical with modern Burdwan. Kajaṅgala formed the western boundary of the Pūrvadeśa. It is the Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo of Yuan Chwang and is to be located somewhere in the Rajmahal district.

Northern and North-western India extended west and north-west from the Brahmin village of Thūṇa or from Prthudaka (Pehoa). It was bounded on the north and west by the belt of the western Himalayan range reaching down the Arabian Sea. The region of Uttarāpatha lay to the north of Aparānta or Western India, and the west of Buddhist Midland and was watered by the Himalayan rivers forming the Indus group. The important countries included in this region are Gandhāra, Kāmboja, Śūtraka, Yavana, Pārada, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Madra, Kekaya, Darada, Barbara, Vāhika and Kāśmīra. Kāśmīra is the modern state of Kashmir and Jammu, which lies to the east of Peshawar and Rawalpindi. The location of Yavana and Kāmboja is not definitely settled. Sindhu may be identified with Sind on the Arabian Sea. Sauvīra has been described as a kingdom with Roruka as its capital. Barbara or Barbaricum is described in the *Periplus* as a market town of Minnagar on the Erythrean Sea. Utpalāvātī may be identified with Puṣkarāvātī which is identified with modern Parang and Charsadda, 17 miles north-east of Peshawar on the Swat river. The Sindhu (Indus), Vitamsā (Vitastā, Jhelum) and Candrabhāgā (Chenāb) are the important rivers.

Western India represents that part of India which lay to the west of the Buddhist Midland and to the north and south of the Deccan and Northern India. It was the western sea-board of India. The Bhoja and Rāṣṭra countries, Deva-sabhā, Surāṣṭra, Bhṛgukaccha, Ānarta and Arbuda are the representative countries of western India. Bhṛgukaccha is modern Broach in Kathiawad; Surāṣṭra comprises modern

Kathiawad and other portions of Gujrat. Nāsika is modern Nasik, which is about 75 miles to the north-west of Bombay on the Godāvarī. Sovira has been identified with Eder, a district in the province of Gujrat at the head of the Gulf of Cambay.

Southern India extended southward from Māhismatī, identified with Māndhātā on the Narmadā. The Godāvarī and the Narmadā regions are placed in the Dakkhināpatha. The Kāverī flowed into the sea. Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithan) on the Godāvarī is described as the southern terminus of the southern high-road extending from Rājagṛha. It was situated near about modern Pañcavaṭī at Nāsik. On the banks of the Godāvarī stood the two Andhra kingdoms of Assaka with its capital at Potana (Paudanya) and Aḷaka or Mūḷaka (the capital Patitṭhāna), the latter standing to the north of the former. Kolapaṭṭana was a harbour on the Coromandel coast. Rājagiri, Pubbasela, Aparasela and Siddhattha were all localities in the Andhra territory. The Drāviḍa territories comprised Coḷa with Kāñcīpura (modern Conjeeveram) as its capital, Pāṇḍya with Madhurasuttapaṭṭana (modern Madoura) as its chief town, and Kerala (Chera). Kāliṅga was a kingdom with its capital at Dantapura, situated near Chicacole on the Bay of Bengal. Oḍra and Utkala represented the two distinct parts of Orissa. The Mekala country was probably a tract of land comprising the modern Amarakaṇṭaka hills and adjoining locality.

The sixteen great countries mentioned in the Buddhist texts are Kāśī (Benares), Kośala (capital cities, Śrāvastī and Sāketa), Aṅga (Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts), Magadha (Patna and Gayā districts), Vajji (Vaiśālī = Basarh in the district of Muzaffarpur), Malla (Kāśiā and Pāvāpurī), Cedi or Ceti (near the Jumna and contiguous to the kingdom of the Kurus), Vamśa or Vatsa (Kauśāmbī, modern Kosam near Allahabad), Kuru (Kurukṣetra or Thāneśvar, which was situated between the Sarasvatī on the north and the Dr̥ṣadvatī on the south), Pañcāla (Northern with its capital Ahicchatra, modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district; and Southern with its capital Kāmpilya, modern Kampil in the Furrukhabad district, U.P.), Matsya (modern territory of Jaipur), Sūrasena (capital Mathurā), Assaka or Aśmaka (capital Potana or Potalī), Avantī (modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central Provinces), Gandhāra (modern districts of Peshawar in the N.W.F.P. and Rawalpindi in the Punjab), and Kāmboja (a country in the extreme north-west of India).

SECTION II

KINGS AND PEOPLES

It is interesting to read the account of important kings who ruled India in ancient times. Bimbisāra was made king of Magadha by his father when he was only 15 years old. He annexed Aṅga to his dominions and strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the two neighbouring states of Kośala and Vaiśālī. He took one consort from the royal family of Kośala and another from the influential clan of Vaiśālī. He obtained Kāśīgrāma as a gift to him by his father-in-law, Mahākośala. All these diplomatic marriage-relations were of great political importance in the history of Magadha. They paved the way for the expansion of Magadhan kingdom. Bimbisāra was a righteous king and a righteous man. He was benign to priests and laymen and to town and country folk. He had the rare power of understanding the character of men by their voice. He was converted to Buddhism by Gautama Buddha, and he had a very deep regard for the Master who was five years older than the king. He was succeeded by his son Ajātaśatru who practically put an end to his father's life. Ajātaśatru tried to kill Buddha with the help of Devadatta, but all his attempts were baffled. He then wanted to destroy the powerful clan of the Licchavis and was afterwards successful with the help of his ministers Sunīdha and Vassakāra. The war with the Licchavis ending in the victory of Ajātaśatru resulted in the further expansion of the Magadhan kingdom. Like his father Bimbisāra he had a firm faith in the Buddhist doctrine. The principle of 'life for life and limb for limb' was adopted by him in a way which was more inhuman than hanging. Udāyibhadda was the son and successor of Ajātaśatru, who reigned for 16 years. He was killed by his son Anuruddha who had to share the same miserable fate at the hand of his own son, Muṇḍa. Muṇḍa's son Nāgadāsaka slew his father, but he was afterwards banished by the citizens who anointed Susunāga as the king. Susunāga's son Kālāsoka reigned for 28 years.

Asoka was one of several sons of Bindusāra. He was at first called Caṇḍāsoka on account of his evil deeds, but he was later known as Dharmāsoka on account of his meritorious deeds. He fell in love with a girl named Devī and had a son named Mahindra and a daughter named Saṅghamitrā. Both

of them obtained ordination. He received a very great shock when he lost his beloved wife Asandhimitrā in the twelfth year of his reign. Four years after her death, he married a girl named Tiṣyarakṣā. Aśoka received his ordination from a *sāmaṇera* (novice) named Nigrodha. He built many *caityas* (dagobas). During his reign the third Buddhist Council was held at Pāṭaliputra with Moggaliputta Tissa as its President. He made arrangements in his kingdom to provide medicine for the monks. He sent missionaries to various countries for the propagation of Buddhism. His *Dharma* consists in docility to parents, liberality to friends, non-injury to living beings, self-mastery, purity of heart, gratitude, fidelity, toleration, compassion, truth and purity, etc.

Prasenajit was the son of Mahākośala, king of Kośala. He was educated at Taxila. After his father's death he ascended the throne of Kośala. The Śākyaas became vassals to him and he used to receive homage from them. He had a great admiration for the Buddha. He had a fight with Ajātaśatru of Magadha. At first he was defeated but later he succeeded in defeating his sister's son Ajātaśatru and having him captured. Then he married his daughter Vajirā to Ajātaśatru and gave her the Kāśī village as bath and perfume money. Prasenajit used to collect taxes from the inhabitants of Kāśī-Kośala. He had religious instructions from the Buddha on several occasions.

Caṇḍapradhyota was the king of Ujjain. He was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha. He was converted to the Buddhist faith and since his conversion Buddhism became popular in Avanti. Udayana (Udena), king of Kauśāmbī, was imprisoned by king Caṇḍapradhyota of Ujjain. He fell in love with Vāsavadattā (Vāsuladattā), the beautiful daughter of Caṇḍapradhyota. One night she eloped with Udena who brought her to Kauśāmbī and made her the chief consort. He afterwards fell in love with Sāmāvatī and made her the chief consort. He is said to have survived Gautama Buddha. He was at first unfriendly towards Buddhism but later he felt a loving admiration for it. During the Śuṅga rule a vigorous Brahmanical reaction set in against Buddhism. It was nevertheless during this period that the Bharhut railings and gateways and the older stone railing of Bodh-Gayā were erected.

The great Kuṣāṇa king Kaniska was an adherent of Buddhism. He was converted to Buddhism by his preceptor Aśvaghōṣa. The celebrated Gandhāra sculptures found in large numbers in the Peshawar district and neighbouring

regions bear ample testimony to considerable artistic merit to a modified Buddhism, a religion with a complicated mythology and well-filled pantheon. Under his patronage the fourth Buddhist Council was held at Jullandar under the presidency of Vasumitra. Three extensive commentaries called *Vibhāṣās* were written. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, says that the three *Piṭakas* with the commentaries were caused to be written on copper-plates which were put in stone boxes deposited in a memorial mound. All these works survived in India and they now exist in Chinese translations or adaptations. Some of them have been discovered in original Sanskrit at Gilgit, particularly the whole of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Sarvāstivāda sect.

India was inhabited by different peoples. The Yavanas or the Yonas may be presumed to have settled down subsequently in the extreme north-west of India, retaining their old customs and manners and maintaining their old religious beliefs. They are associated with the Śakas. They are placed between the country of the Kurus, the Madras and the Himalayas. The Yonas, as the Bactrian Greeks, were all along ruled by the monarchs of their own. They are also associated with the Kāmbojas and the Gandhāras. The Yonas and the Kāmbojas had the same kind of social organisation. The Kāmbojas were considered barbarous. They had an independent or semi-independent tribal form of government. The Gandhāras were the descendants of Druhyas. King Bimbisāra of Magadha was friendly to Pukkusāti the reigning king of Gandhāra. At the time of Alexander's invasion of India in B.C. 327 the kingdom of Gandhāra was ruled by Taxiles who was succeeded by his son Mophis. The Gandhāras enjoyed some amount of independence along with their neighbours the Kāmbojas and the Yonas. The Madras founded their territory in the Central Punjab with Sāgala or Sākala (modern Sialkot) as their capital. They lived under a monarchical form of government and their capital Sāgala was an emporium of trade and one of the most flourishing cities. The Kekayas and the Kekas founded two territories, one in Uttarāpatha and the other in Mahimsakaraṭṭha. The Kekayas of Uttarāpatha (north and north-western India) settled down in a territory between the Vipāsā and the kingdom of Gandhāra. The Śivis also settled down in Uttarāpatha. They were known to the Greek historians as Siboi. The Kurus migrated in large numbers from Uttarakuru to Jambudīpa and founded a kingdom named after them. The Kuru kingdom comprised several districts, towns, and villages. Hastināpura appears to have been the earlier

capital. The Pañcālas founded a kingdom contiguous to that of the Kurus. The Pañcāla country was divided by the Ganges into two parts, the northern and the southern. Kāmpilla was the capital of the southern Pañcāla and Ahicchatra was the capital of the northern Pañcāla. The Kurus and the Pañcālas were on a state of war with each other from time to time, at one time the Pañcālas annexing a portion of the Kuru country to their realm and at another the Kurus establishing their supremacy over the northern division of Pañcāla. The Matsyas are associated with the Śūrasenas. Their capital was Virāṭanagara named after king Virāṭa of the Epic fame. They had no political importance in Buddha's time. The Śūrasenas were present in the Kuru Court in the city of Indraprastha along with the Matsyas, Madras and Pañcālas. Their capital was Mathurā on the right bank of the Jumna. The Avantīs had their capital named Māhiṣmatī. Ujjenī was the capital of Caṇḍapajjota, the king of Avantī in Buddha's time. The country of the Avantīs was later merged in the Maurya empire. The Bhojas, the Rāṭhikas and the Pitinikas, who are supposed to have belonged to the Sātvata race, are mentioned as semi-independent ruling peoples of western India. The Aśmakas or Assakas founded a territory in Southern India which lay contiguous to the kingdom of the Avantīs. The Godāvarī flowed between the two neighbouring kingdoms of Assaka and Mūlaka.

Among the peoples of western India, mention may be made of the Surāṣṭras, Aparāntakas and Suppārakas. The Suppārakas were the citizens of Surpāraka or modern Sopārā. Surāṣṭras had their kingdom named after them, which is identified with Kathiawar. The Andhras, Sabaras, Damiḷas, Pāṇdyas, Coḷas, Satiyaputras and Keralaputras were the peoples of South India. The Andhras, according to some, were a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telegu language, who occupied the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā. The Pāṇdyas had their territory to the south of the river Kāverī. The Kālīṅgas were a powerful people who founded a territory between the countries of the Lāḍhas and the Andhakas and along the eastern sea-coast. The Lāḍhas or Rāḍhas lived in a pathless country with its two divisions known as Subbhabhūmi and Vajjabhūmi. The Aṅgas, Vāṅgas and Magadhas were the prominent peoples of eastern India. The Magadhas founded a territory round Mt. Vepulla, which was bounded on the north and west by the Ganges, on the east by Campā, and on

the south by the Vindhya, the river Sôṇ forming the western boundary of the Magadhakṣetra.

The Videhas, who represented in the Buddha's time as one of the important clans constituting the Vajjian or Licchavi confederacy, were the people who originally migrated from the eastern continent of Videha and founded a territory named after them on the left bank of the Ganges.

The Mallas and the Śākyas lived in Kuśinārā and Pāvā and in Kapilavastu respectively. It was among the Śākyas that the Buddha Gautama was born. Turning at last to the peoples of the Brahmanical midland we have to take into account the four important peoples, viz., the Kāśīs, the Kośālas, the Vāṃsas and the Cedis. They had their headquarters at Benares, Ayodhyā, Śāketa, Kauśāmbī and the territory lying midway between the kingdoms of the Kurus and the Vāṃsas respectively.

SECTION III

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

There were four classes of people, Kṣatriyas, Brāhmanas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The Kṣatriyas who were given preference over the Brāhmanas occupied the first place. They represented the ruling class, claiming the Aryan descent. The members of a royal family passed as Kṣatriyas. They were warriors by training and occupation. Though they were warriors, the recruits to the military regiment of a kingdom were not necessarily all Kṣatriyas. Then came the Brahmins in point of superiority, who were proud of their caste. There were five kinds of Brāhmanas as mentioned in the Buddhist texts: (1) Those who lived in the northern or north-western country, (2) those who lived at Benares, (3) those who lived in Magadha and Rājagṛha, (4) those of Bhāradvājagotra, and (5) the Kaṇhāyana-Brāhmanas. The Brahmins in those days followed the pursuits of agriculturists, craftsmen, tradesmen, landlords, order-carriers, sacrificers, etc. The Mahāsāla Brahmins were those who were men of substance. The Brahmins claimed two privileges, unmolestibility and immunity from execution. They were not required to pay rents so far as the land-endowments were concerned.

The Vaiśyas (Vessas) formed the third grade of the Indo-Aryan society with trade and commerce, agriculture and farming, as their distinctive occupations.

The Śūdras came next to the Vessas (Vaiśyas). They were known in the Buddhist age as slaves as opposed to free men. They were employed as domestic servants in the houses of the rich.

Besides these four classes there were some low castes such as Caṇḍālas, Pukkusas, Veṇas, Nesādas, Rathakāras, potters, weavers, leather-workers, mat-makers, etc. Householders (*gahapatis*) may be found among the classes already mentioned.

In the Indo-Aryan society, there were various forms of marriage. Polygamy was prevalent among all sections of the people and among the masses generally when the first wife was proved to be barren. The marriage appears to have been preceded by betrothal (*vāgdāna*) of which at least four kinds are traditionally well known. The girls according as they are engaged by the one or another of these forms are discriminated as *vācādattā* (engaged by the word given by the

girl's people), *manodattā* (engaged by a betrothal where the girl's people express their intention without commitment to a definite promise), *kṛta-kautuka-maṅgalā* (engaged by a betrothal where a certain desire is expressed even in jest), and *udakasparśitā* (engaged by a betrothal where the promise is given by touching water). The term '*Udakasparśitā*' (Pali *udakupcasatṭhā*) finds mention in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*.

The wives were graded as those who could behave with their husbands as a mother (*mātṛsamā*), those who would behave like a sister (*bhagnīsamā*), those who would befriend like a comrade (*sakhīsamā*), those who would serve like a slave (*dāsīsamā*), those who would domineer over like a shrew (*ayyasamā*), those who would behave like a thief (*corīsamā*) and those who would behave like a murderer (*vadhakasamā*). The cherished ideal relation was one between a god and a goddess (*deva-devī*), and the worst relation was one between the two who are morally dead (*śavā*).

There were two separate words, *āvāha* and *vivāha*, to designate the marriage of a boy and that of a girl. The wedding ceremony was usually performed in the house of the bride's father, the Brahmin priest and the barber having their parts to play in it. The bride is desired to be steadfast in devotion to her husband and to faithfully follow him. She is blessed to be a queen in her father-in-law's family. In the matter of choosing their husbands, the maidens enjoyed some amount of independence.

In the Indo-Aryan society in general the marriage was ordinarily negotiated by guardians of both the parties. The Pāli account of the marriage of Visākhā, daughter of a rich banker, shows that the match-makers approached her first and they had not made the proposal to her people before they sounded her and got her assent.

Early marriage in the case of girls is prescribed by Manu. The Great Epic records an instance where a girl of seven was united with an adult of twenty-one. According to Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, the girls, when twelve years old, were to be treated as major (*prāptavyavahāra*), and the boys, when sixteen years old. The *Andabhūta Jātaka* seeks to account for the Brāhmin opinion in favour of infant marriages in the case of girls by the general belief in the frailty of woman's nature and the desire to protect her against mischiefs from the very infancy. Such marriages might have been prevalent among the Brāhmaṇas and lower social grades, whereas among the Kṣatriyas and aristocratic Vaiśyas the custom appears to have been different.

The remarriage of women was not unknown. Even such later law-books as Manu and Parāśara mention five special circumstances in which the remarriage of married girls or widows would be justified. The four of them are contained in the *Arthaśāstra*: 'If a husband is of bad character, or is long gone abroad, or has become a traitor to his king, or is likely to endanger the life of his wife, or has fallen from his caste or has lost virility, he may be abandoned by his wife.' Going by the evidence of the *Arthaśāstra*, one must say that the remarriage of women and widows was rather more frequent than rare among all the four castes. Remarriage with one of the husband's brothers or kinsmen was generally preferred. The same work speaks of the possibility of a woman having many sons by many husbands—a fact which has its corroboration from the autobiography of Isidāsī who was married successively to many (more than two) husbands. Divorce was allowed with or without any formal decree. In the instance of Isidāsī, she had to return to her father's house twice after she was turned out of the house by her successive husbands. The *Arthaśāstra* provides this rule that after waiting for ten menses, a married woman was entitled to obtain the permission of the judges to marry a man she liked. Although in theory the first four forms were in accordance with approved customs and went as such to make the nuptial tie indissoluble (*amokṣo dharmavivāhānām*), the law of the land provided several exceptions to the general rule.

The begetting of children was distinctly held as the object of marriage. In secular view the immortality of man consisted in the continuity of the line through progeny. In cases where the wife proved to be barren or failed to give birth to a male issue, the husband generally married again. The Brahmin law-givers felt much concerned to enjoin that every flowering period of a married woman was to be availed of for the purpose of procreation. Thus the long absence of the husband from his house was made a good excuse for the wife to remarry. The birth of children, particularly of male children, determined the position of a married woman in her father-in-law's family and her happiness in married life. Kings and all people alike were very much concerned indeed about the birth of their sons, i.e., heirs or successors. In the event of there being no chance of the birth of a male child, a king would, under a religious sanction (*dharmānātaka*), let out in the streets for a week the ladies of the harem including the queens. The birth of king Caṇḍa-pradyota is said to have been the result of an appointment.

Certain rules of eugenics were prescribed by the Brahmin law-givers in the *Upāṇiṣads* and *Gr̥hya* and *Dharma Sūtras* for bringing desired types of children into the world. The need for the increase of population was acutely felt. In the earlier law-books the eight kinds of children were freely recognised. It seems to have been the general custom to call a married woman since the birth of the first child as the mother of so and so, e.g., Nakula-mātā, Rāhulamātā, and Tivala-mātā, the third as in Aśoka's Queen's Edict.

Prostitution was in vogue. Kings used to enjoy the company of handsome and accomplished courtesans. Sometimes princes were begotten on them. Ambapālī is said to have been the mother of prince Abhaya, son of Bimbisāra. There were many other well-known courtesans, such as Padumavatī, Sālavatī, Sirimā, Sāmā, Sulasā and Aḍḍhakāsī. It is evident from early Buddhist texts that some of the leading *ganikās* or courtesans made a profitable trade of prostitution by maintaining a regular brothel containing as many as five hundred prostitutes. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* we find mention of *Sattavanijjā* which indicates traffic in women and slave-trade. Among the Vṛjis (Pali Vajjis) of Vaiśālī, the custom was not to allow the most handsome girl born in their families to be married; she was generally trained up as a courtesan.

The royal harem was filled with maidens and women of all grades. A king named Vāsudeva is said to have married a caṇḍāla woman who became his chief queen. Her son succeeded to the throne of Dvāravatī.

The purchase of a wife which virtually meant a demoniac form of marriage was current, according to Manu, among the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Even according to Baudhāyana, these two classes were not very particular about their wives. The Great Epic testifies to the prevalence of the older custom of purchasing a girl with offers of gold, elephants and such other things. This is attested also by the *Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka*. There is again a specific injunction in the *Mahābhārata* that a man goes to hell if he sells his daughter.

Buddha's opinion seems to be in favour of endogamy. But the codified customary laws allowed a Brāhmaṇa to marry from all the four castes, a Kṣatriya from the three, a Vaiśya from the two, and a Śūdra only from his own caste. So far as the reigning monarchs and Kṣatriyas in general were concerned, they do not appear to have been debarred from the right of marrying from any caste or nationality. The matrimonial alliances were often resorted to in royal families in ratification of political treaties between two states.

Whatever may be the popular opinion about the intellectual power or the amount of intelligence of women, the instances are not lacking where they shone forth in the pursuit of higher knowledge or as religious women. The *Upaniṣads* preserve the tradition of Gārgī Vācakaṇvī and Maitreyī as intellectual women. In the Great Epic king Janaka is described as disputing with the nun Sulabhā. In the same work king Senajit is depicted as being comforted by the words of the courtesan Piṅgalā. At about the rise of Buddhism one finds religious women in the order of the Tāpasas (Hermits), the Brāhmaṇa Wanderers (Parivrājakaḥ), the Ājīvikas and the Nirgranthas (Jainas). With the formation of the Bhikṣuṇī order, many gifted women from different social grades gained their admission into it and excelled in various branches of knowledge and religious experience, maintaining a high tradition of intellectuality and character.

To maintain the honour, integrity and tradition of the family much stress was laid on such rules of conduct as respectful attention to parents, teachers, preceptors, and seniors in age and experience, proper dealings with and maintenance of wives, proper upbringing of children, seemly behaviour to friends, associates, companions, and relatives, hospitality to guests, kindness to the poor and the destitute, and the proper treatment of slaves and servants. The duties of household life were conceived on a reciprocal basis. The duties of the king and the state and the duties of the people to the king and the country, too, were defined.

As regards food and drink, the customs and habits and the modes of cooking, serving and eating differed with different peoples and social grades in different localities. The Kāmbojas of Uttarāpatha, for instance, are said to have eaten insects and some variety of moths, snakes and frogs. There were in some parts of India, particularly in desert areas of Rajputana or near about, certain cannibals (*kālamukhas*) who used to live on human flesh. There was for instance, a class of hermits called *hastī-tāpasas*, who used to subsist on the meat of elephants with the idea that thereby they might lessen the act of killing. The hunters as a class are said to have eaten even the flesh of lions, tigers, bears, panthers and hyenas. In time of food scarcity people had recourse even to the eating of the flesh of elephants, horses, dogs, and snakes. The general rules prescribed in the *Gṛhya-sūtras* and older *Dharma-sūtras* for the guidance of the Indo-Aryan society in the matter of eating meat and fish, were in many respects akin to those enjoined in the Law-book of Moses. The five-toed (*pañcanakha*) animals are forbidden

with certain exceptions. The number of exceptions varies from five to seven. The list of five comprises the dog-faced boar (*śvāvid*), the iguana (*godhā*), the porcupine (*śalyaka*), the tortoise (*kacchapa*), and the hare (*śaśa*). The list of six given by Gautama and Manu has the additional name of rhinoceros (*khaḍga*), while Āpastamba's list adds one more name, namely, *pūtikhṣa* (an animal resembling a hare). The two-hoofed animals with the exception of the deer called *śarya*, the *prṣata*, the buffalo, the boar (*varāha*) and the reindeer (*kurāṅga*) are disallowed. Even the *kurāṅga* is tabooed by Baudhāyana. Āpastamba discards all one-hoofed animals. Baudhāyana condemns all village (domestic) animals (the cow, the horse, the ass, the camel) with the exception of goats, while Vasiṣṭha allows all animals having single row of teeth with the exception of camels (*anuṣṭrā*). Gautama prohibits not only those animals which are one-hoofed (e.g., horses, asses, mules) but also those which have a double row of teeth, those which are covered with an excessive quantity of hair (e.g., the yak or *Bos grunniens*), and those which have no hair at all (e.g., snakes). Vasiṣṭha forbids the *gavaya*, the porpoise, the alligator and the crab among the aquatic beings and the cattle, the *gayāl* and the *śarabha* (eight-legged deer) among the terrestrial animals . . . Gautama is against eating milch cows and draught oxen. But he is equally against the meat of animals, the milk-teeth of which have not fallen away, which are diseased as well as those which are not killed for sacred purposes.

The Buddha's prohibition of the meat of the lion, the tiger, the bear, the panther, the hyena, and the dog, even in times of food scarcity, conforms to the five-toed rule; that of the meat of snakes to the no-hair-animal rule; and that of the meat of elephants and horses to the tame-animal rule.

As regards birds, Gautama allows those which feed striking with their beaks or scratching with their feet. Āpastamba, on the other hand, prohibits only the cock (i.e., village-fowls) amongst those which feed scratching with their feet, and the heron called *plava* (or *śakatabila*). Among the birds that feed scratching with their feet (*vivishkirā*), partridge (*tittira*), pigeon (*kapota*), swallow (*kapinjala*), *vārdhrāṇasa* (a kind of crane, Pali *byagghinasa*, *Vessantara Jātaka*), pea-fowl (*mayura*), and *vāraṇa* (otherwise called *hatthiliṅga*, *Vessantara Jātaka*) are passed as eatable. Baudhāyana discards the *vāraṇa*. The birds that fly at night (i.e., owls, night-hawks) and those that are orb-footed are prohibited by Gautama and likewise those which are born in water and those which have red feet and beaks. Forbidden are all

carnivorous birds, e.g., crows, vultures, kites, falcons and eagles. In the language of Manu the birds that dive and live on fish, meat from a slaughter house and dried meat, are to be avoided.

Vaśiṣṭha's list of forbidden birds is formidable, although it precludes certainly the birds that are declared eatable by Baudhāyana, including peafowls. The peacock is the only bird which, as pointed out by Bhandarkar, has been forbidden by most of the *Smṛitis* but served as an article of food in the time of Aśoka.

The precautionary rule goes against eating solitary (*ekacara*) and unknown beasts and birds, though they may fall under the category of eatable creatures.

As for fishes, Vaśiṣṭha and Āpastamba allow all but the *Ceta*. Baudhāyana permits the eating of the *silurus boalis*, the fish called *cilicima* (popularly known as *vāliyā*), the *varmā*, the *maśakari*, the *rohita* (*cyprinus rohita*), and the *rājīva*. In the opinion of Manu the *pāthina* (*silurus boalis*) and the *rohita* may be eaten, if used for offering to the gods or to the manes, while the *rājīva* (those marked with lines), the *simhatuṇḍa* (lion-beaked) and the *saśalka* (those having fins and scales) may be eaten on all occasions. The law-books prohibit the fishes that are mis-shapen. Āpastamba forbids also those which are snake-headed and those which live on flesh only.

The highest ideal of ascetic life was to subsist on air, water, and fire. Some of the hermits and ascetics lived on pot-herbs, varieties of wildgrown rice, skin of fruits, vegetable juice, small bits of grains, gruel, dough of sesamum, grass, cow-dung, roots and fruits that have dropped of their accord. The Ājīvikas and Jainas were strictly vegetarians. In some of the hermitages the meat of iguanas, deer and cows was eaten. The animals killed at Brahmanical sacrifices included not only bulls and cows but also pigs and fowls. The sacrifices performed were accompanied by grand feasts. Daily in a royal kitchen, especially during the *cāturmāsya* (Indian lent) period, many hundreds of cattle and other living creatures were killed for feeding the Brāhmaṇas and other people. In times of famine or food-scarcity (*dubbhikkha-samaye*) various public kitchens were opened for feeding the intended people by announcement (*sankitti*). Hospitality to guests was included in the list of five *yajñas* in the *Gṛhya-sūtras* and five *balis* in Buddhism. Thus it was raised to the level of a religious duty. 'Give food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, and clothes to those who need them' was the popular appeal of the age.

The food allowed to Buddhist Fraternity was divided into five *bhojanīyas* consisting of such swallowable wet and soft food as rice, boiled mixture of barley and peas, baked cornflour, meat and cakes and five *khāndanīyas* consisting of such hard and solid food chewed or crunched as 'roots, stalks, leaves, flowers, and fruits.'

The main food grains used and cultivated from Vedic times comprised varieties of paddy (*dhānya*, *vrihi*), barley (*yava*) and wheat (*godhūma*). The pulses mainly consisted of beans (*kulmāsa*), *māṣkalāya* (*khalakula*), *mug* (*khalva*, *mudga*), lentil (*masura*), and wild beans (*garmut*). The oil in common use was that prepared from sesamum seeds (*tila-taila*). It was generally stored in earthen jars and cultivated along with beans in winter season. Onion, garlic, cardamom, *sarsapa*, red pepper, turmeric, ginger, and the like were in use as spices and condiments. The ingredients of soures and acids were such fruits as *mātulūṅga*, *kola* or *vadara* (plum), citron, lemon, tamarind, mango and hogplum, and such leaves as those of *oxalis* and *rumex*. The sweets comprised *śarkarā*, palm-sugar, sugarcandy, grape juice, and honey and different preparations from them. The *Vinaya Mahavagga* refers to a sugar factory, 'where flour and cane dust were put with molasses to make it firm.' Varieties of cakes (*piṣṭakas*) were counted among delicacies. The list of typical fruits might be made of the varieties of mango, jackfruit, pineapple, banana, orange, grape, date, palmyra, cocoanut, and plum.

Water (*toya*, *udaka*) was then as now the natural drinking substance. The Jaina and a few other Indian recluses preferred drinking hot water. Eight kinds of drink were allowed in the case of the Buddhist fraternity, viz., mango syrup, the syrup prepared from rose-apples, plantain, mocha, honey and grape-juice, the syrup made from the edible roots of waterlily, and *parusaka*. The juice of all kinds of fruit with the exception of toddy and arrack, and the drinks prepared from all leaves except those made from pot-herbs, and the drinks made from all flowers except liquid rice-juice and sugarcane juice, were also permitted for use. The drinking of alcohol and drunkenness and midnight revelry were not unknown. The intoxicants are broadly distinguished in ancient Pali texts as *surā* (spirituous liquor), *maireya* (decoc-tion), and *madya* (spirits). The *āsava* or wine from drugs also finds mention. The *Kumbha* and *Surāpāna Jatakas* describe the evil effects of drinking wine. Toddy (*jalogi*) formed a harmless popular drink. According to Pliny, the fruit of the palm was utilised for making wine. Strabo says

that the Indians never drank wine except at the time of sacrifice and the beverage was prepared from rice instead of barley.

The *Gobhila Grhya-sūtra* speaks of four kinds of Indian clothing. The *Kṣauma* cloth was made from the fibres of the bark of *Kṣumā* (*atasi*-flax), the *sāna* cloth from hemp, the *kārpāsa* from cotton fibres, and the *aurṇa* from the hair of lamb. The Buddhist fraternity was allowed to wear six kinds of robe, viz., those made of linen and those of cotton, silk, wool, coarse cloth and hemp. We have mention also of garments made of grass, bark and leaves. An Indian queen is said to have put on Benares cloth, linen and fine Kodumbara. As known to Herodotus, the Indians used to wear a garment made of rushes.

It seems most probable that the wearing of different kinds of cloth in different seasons, as detailed in the *Sūsruta-saṃhitā*, was both a necessity and a fashion of the day. This may be inferred at least from the *Bhikkhu Pātimokkha*, rule 24 (*Nissaggiya-Pācittiya*), providing that a bhikkhu should collect materials for robes for the rainy season (*vassika-sātika-cīvaram*) a month before the closing of the hot season.

The clothing differed with different peoples and localities. The Śivis of the Punjab, for instance, were a people who wore skins (lion's skin) like their deity Heracles (Śiva).¹ The same remark may hold true of the Carmakhaṇḍikas of the lower Punjab. According to the Classical writers, the Indian Hylobioi (*Tāpasas*) clothed themselves with the bark of trees, a fact which is amply corroborated by the Indian literary evidence. As may be gathered from the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*, they used to put on an undergarment, an upper garment, and a folded garment over one shoulder—a pre-Buddhistic custom in which lay the origin of the idea of wearing three robes by a Buddhist *bhikṣu*. Among the Indian ascetics some wore garments made of hemp and others those made of different kinds of cloth sewn together, those used for covering dead bodies, those made of grasses, those collected from dust-heap, those made of the bark of trees, those made of the *kuśa* grass, those of goat's skin, those of blankets woven of human hair or hair of animals. Some of them wore just one garment (*ekasātakas*), some skins (*cammasātakas*), some garments made of wood (*dāruciniyas*), and some, e.g., the *Acalakas*, *Ājivikas* and *Nirgranthas*, went naked. Although the garments worn by the Buddhist *bhikṣus* are collectively known as three robes, viz., the *saṅghāṭi* (double cloak), *uttarāsaṅga* (upper garment), and *antarāvāsa* (inner garment), the garment

provision included petticoats, side-coverings, towels for wiping the body and the face, shaving cloth, cloth for itching and cloth for medicament, while in the case of a *bhikṣuṇī*, the same included a side-covering and a skirt. From these may be inferred the decent clothing provision of a gentleman and a lady who lived in society.

The art of dyeing was then in vogue. According to the Vinaya texts, the dyes for robes were prepared from roots, trunks of trees, barks, leaves, flowers, and fruits. They were extracted from raw material and the robes were dyed in a dyeing trough. As the Great Epic attests, different peoples had special likings for colours for their dresses. Arjuna, for instance, wanted 'the white clothes of Ācārya and Śāradvata, the yellow ones of Karna, the blue ones of Aśvatthāmā and the king, to be collected.' As regards the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, we are told that they were a fashionable people, each family having its garments dyed in a distinctive colour. The Pali *Vatthūpama Sutta* clearly testifies to cloth being dyed in different colours—blue, yellow, red, brown and black. The white garment was popularly regarded as the symbol of household life (*gihī odātavasanā*); it passed also as the symbol of some sects of the Indian ascetics.

Carding cotton, spinning and weaving formed the common duty of a married woman. The art of spinning, weaving and needle-work developed in India in very early times. The art of washing, too, was subsidiary to that of weaving. From the direction given in the Vinaya Texts, it appears that in the case of unwashable clothes, silk and woollen stuffs were to be treated with alkaline earth, blankets with powdered *ariṣṭa* (*nimba*) fruit, *aṁśupattas* with *bilva* fruit, and linen cloth with (a paste of) yellow mustard. It is rightly remarked that the *Kathina* ceremonies as described in the *Mahāvagga* unmistakably show the acme of perfection the art of sewing and dyeing reached in ancient India.

Other personal requisites included head-dress, sun-shade or umbrella, foot-wear, and stick. The five royal insignia comprised head-dress, foot-wear, bangle, fly-whisk, and sword. The sceptre stood as the symbol of royal majesty, might and administration. The parasol and golden vase were also counted among the symbols of royalty. The ordinary sun-shade and water-jug were among the requisites of the hermits and ascetics. Some of the ascetics carried sticks in their hands. An Ājīvika mendicant, for instance, describes himself as a man with a stick in his hand. The Maskarins were the bamboostaff wanderers. The wanderers were distinguished as one-staff men and triple-staff men (*ekadaṇḍikas*,

tedaṇḍikas). Sticks in the case of the *religieux* were needed to keep off the dogs. The footwears are broadly distinguished in the Vinaya texts as sandals, slippers, shoes and boots of various kinds, and they are said to have been of various colours—blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange, and yellowish. The Vinaya texts refer to two kinds of sunshade. The Great Epic praises the gifts of white umbrellas having a hundred spokes as a religious act. The use of the head-dress is indeed very old, as old as the Vedic Age, and the pre-Vedic civilization of the Indus Valley. The diadem type of head-dress was worn by kings and Kṣatriyas. The Pali Nikāyas refer to a shrine of the Mallas where they were crowned with diadems (*Makutabandhana-Cetiya*). The head-dress was to be used, according to Sūśruta, 'to protect the head from sun, air, dust, rain, sweat and cold'. Plaited or matted hair served the purpose of a head-dress in the case of the Indian hermits and some sects of wandering ascetics.

Sufficient attention was paid to toilet, especially among the higher classes of men and women. As defined in the Pali Nikāyas, it consisted in 'the art of wearing, anointing and decorating—all as means of beautifying the person'. A clear idea of this art as then practised may be formed from the Pali stock list of terms indicative of various processes, such as anointing the body with perfumes and unguents, rubbing, kneading, and shampooing, bathing, using mirror, using collyrium for the eyes, wearing wreaths and cosmetics, anointing one's face, hair-dressing including combing, wearing bracelets, foot-wears, turbans and diadems, carrying walking sticks or gun-like weapons for ornament, carrying a sword and a *chauri*, and putting on embroidered and gaudy garments. Even men wore such ornaments as ear-rings, ear-drops, strings of beads worn round the neck, girdles of beads, bangles, necklaces, bracelets and rings. The Great Epic not only speaks of the ten kinds of scent but also describes the five processes of preparing them. According to Strabo, the favourite mode of exercising the body with the Indians was by friction, applied in various ways, but especially by passing smooth ebony rollers over the skin. Their robes were worked in gold, and ornamented with precious stones, and they wore also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind held up umbrellas over them, for they had a high regard for beauty. No one, however, wore a crown (turban) at a sacrifice or libation.

The gestures and postures, deportments and movements, sitting, walking, eating, drinking, dressing, toileting, conversing, sleeping, etc., were sought to be regulated by the

prescription of certain rules of decorum including the laws of etiquette in order to maintain a standard of polite behaviour in domestic and social life.

Going on hunting expeditions was a favourite pastime with kings and princes. The play at dice, sometimes with enormous stakes, was a vice of the court life. Hunting ordinarily meant the hunting of deer, it involved at times the killing of lions and tigers and other ferocious wild beats and animals. The animal sacrifices performed by the kings, wealthy Brahmins, and Vedic ascetics, were a grand affair in popular estimation. They were often accompanied by big feasts and convivial gatherings (*samājas*, *samajjās*). Nautch dancing, varieties of vocal and instrumental music, operas and theatrical representations, ballad recitations, the chanting of bards, the improvisation of verses, acrobatic feats, fairy scenes, combats of elephants, horses, chariots, goats, rams, bull-fights, buffalo-fights, cock-fights, wrestling, bouts, duels, and the like were included in the programme of those convivial gatherings and seasonal festivals. Those of educative value were the popular religious demonstrations including the periodical and ceremonial processions of the gods displaying the celestial cars, elephants, other vehicles, representations of the sun, the moon, the stars, and various forms of fire. The mock-fights, roll-calls, marching of troops, army manœuvres, battle arrays, etc., were the military affairs that largely attracted popular attention. Among children's sports and games, the *akṣharikā* or guessing at letters traced in the air or on a play-fellow's back is the most noteworthy as being suggestive of the fact that the learning of alphabet formed part of early education. But these also included such interesting games as those played on boards with eight or ten rows of squares, dice, hitting a short stick with a long one, games with balls, blowing through toy pipes made of leaves, ploughing with toy ploughs, turning somersaults, playing with toy chariots, toy elephants, toy horses and toy wind-mills made of palm leaves, the mimicry of deformities and the like.

The hard lot of slaves and hirelings is vividly described by the Buddha. The philosophic views and the laws of the state combined to ameliorate their conditions and terms of service. In both theory and in the eye of the law all men were free. As noticed by Megasthenes, 'Of several remarkable customs existing among the Indians, there is one prescribed by their ancient philosophers which one may regard as truly admirable; for the law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but that enjoying freedom, they shall respect the equal right to it which all possess.'

Slavery, though not at all rigorous as compared with the Greek or Roman form of it, existed as a social institution. Although the Jātakas speak of and define just the four main classes of slaves, viz., those who were born of slave parents or begotten on slave women, those who were purchased with money, those who were reduced to slavery under coercion by bandits, and those who took to slavery of their own accord; there were other kinds, too, and the number further increased later on. For the human treatment of slaves and hirelings the Buddha enjoined that the master or employer should fulfil his duties towards them by assigning to them work according to their capacity, supplying them with proper meals and wages, tending them in sickness, sharing with them delicacies, and granting them leave at times.

Indebtedness which was a contributory cause to servitude, was regarded as a painful condition of man's life, and the release from debts was obtained with a sigh of relief. Among the earlier Brahmin law-givers, Gautama and Baudhāyana prescribed that interest should be charged at the rate of fifteen per cent. Vasiṣṭha laid down that the rate should vary according to the caste of the borrower. In the case of a Brahmin it should be only two, in that of a Kṣatriya three, in that of a Vaiśya four and in that of a Śūdra five per cent per month. These loans were loans without any security. Usury was condemned in the case of a Brahmin or a Kṣatriya. According to Baudhāyana a Vaiśya might adopt the business of money-lending.

Famine conditions involving food scarcity occurred in the country in varying degrees of intensity with the attendant pestilences, mainly due to drought. When they occurred it was a serious situation for the state to cope with them. As may be gathered from the *Brahmajāla Sutta* and the works of the Classical writers, the Brahmins in general and some of the sects of Brahmin and other ascetics proved their usefulness both to the state and to the people at large by making forecasts of the conditions of life in the new year on astronomical and astrological calculations, divinations and reading from signs. Diodorus, for instance, says, 'To the people of India at large they (the *Brachmanes* and *Sarmunes*) also render great benefits, when gathered together at the beginning of the year, they forewarn the assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious winds, and diseases, and other topics capable of profiting the hearers.'

The dead bodies of men and women of ordinary rank were thrown into a public place. Great teachers and

distinguished persons were cremated and *stūpas* (dagobas) were made over their ashes or relics.

In the Buddhist age there were different types and sizes of villages, market-towns and cities. The villagers had the common right of waste and wood. There were rice or wheat fields in them. The cattle belonging separately to different households were placed under a common herdsman. The fields were well-cultivated and the irrigation channels were laid. The supply of water was under the supervision of the headman. No individual needed to fence the portion of his field which was divided into plots, each family took the produce of his share. The villagers built motehalls, rest-houses and reservoirs. The towns were built according to definite plans which contained great houses. The houses were mostly pinnaced with thatched roofs. There were brickbuilt houses.

There were basket-makers, weavers, leather-workers, carpenters, metal-workers, blacksmiths, potters, jewellers, cloth merchants, perfumers, dyers, tailors, household servants, cooks, clerks, artists, door-keepers, sentinels, drain-cleaners, sweepers, elephant-trainers, etc. The hereditary craftsmen or those who followed professional callings such as those of architects, mechanics, carpenters, ivory-makers, fishermen, butchers, etc., organised themselves into various guilds agreeing to be governed by their own laws and customs. They functioned as producers, manufacturers, suppliers or sellers. Cattle was held in high esteem as a social wealth. Dairy farming was in an advanced state and there was an abundant supply of milk, curd, butter and ghee. Trees were cut for wood and timber. There was a regular industry of catching birds by means of snares which were sold in the markets. The king could dispose of all abandoned and forestlands as he liked and all ownerless lands were acquired by the crown. The land was enjoyed by the cultivators by the payment of a *tithe* to the king who could remit it to any person. The inland and foreign trade flourished side by side. The export and import of goods were carried on along land and water routes. The merchants and traders used wagons or bullock carts. A caravan sometimes consisted of 500 wagons and its course was guided by land-pilot. Foreign trade was usually carried on by sea and in some cases partly by sea and partly by land. Within the country produce was brought to markets for sale. There were shops where commodities such as textile fabrics, groceries, green groceries, oil, perfumes, flowers, articles of gold and jewellery, etc. were displayed for sale. The hawkers carried their wares for sale in portable

trays. Prices were not fixed and there was competition. The vice of adulteration was also not unknown. On the part of the buyers there was the haggling of price. Merchants could enter into partnership or temporary partnership and there could arise disputes as to shares of profit. All indigenous and foreign goods imported into the city were assessed and a duty was levied upon them. Coins appear to have been the chief medium of exchange. Barter was not the usual practice. All kinds of prices, fees, pensions, fines, loans, and incomes have been usually stated in the Buddhist texts in terms of coins of different denominations. Silver and gold coins appear to have been in use and mention of gold coins like *nikkha* or *suvanna* is late and doubtful. Besides actual currency there were several other legal instruments. Mention is made of Letters of Credit and Promissory Notes. There were no banks and banking facilities were few. Money-lending was looked upon as an honest calling. Money was lent against bonds and there were cases of bad debts which were never repaid.

SECTION IV

RELIGION

The habitual religion of the masses of people was in its varying degrees and forms in conflict and compromise with the higher religions preached by various new schools of thought, and new orders of *religieux*. The masses of people are divided into various groups of worshippers. In a Buddhist text we find that gods are broadly divided into three classes: (1) gods by common acceptance, (2) gods by origination, and (3) gods by purity. The gods of popular worship are typified by the sun and the moon. The people in those days used to worship fire god, serpent, demon, the sun, the moon. Indra, Brahmā, minor gods and quarter gods. They also worshipped such deified heroes as Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Pūrṇabhadra and Maṇibhadra. The elephants, horses, cows, dogs and crows were among the objects of worship. There existed representatives of such religious orders as those of the Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, Jāṭilas, Parivrājakas and Aviruddhakas. There were gods located in three spheres of the universe: those dwelling on the earth, those in the firmament, and those in the highest region.

The hierarchy as developed in early Buddhism placed the four grades of *arūpabrahmas* as the highest in the scale and the lowest being represented by the four *lokapālas* exercising their suzerainty over the rest of the gods and demigods. There were hosts of popular gods and goddesses affiliated to the realm of the four *lokapālas*. The formation of the hierarchy in ancient Indian pantheon must have resulted from a long course of development of religious ideas and beliefs. The contemporary representatives of the ancient Vedic sages formed the Mahāsāla class of Brahmins from among whom the *purohitas* or chaplains of the kings and wealthy nobles were chosen.

Among the hermits some were honoured as sages. The *Parivrājakas* were mostly Brahmins by birth. The Sramāṇas (monks) were typified by the followers of the six teachers known to the Buddhists as the six heretical teachers. With the march of time the religion of *Bhakti* influenced the whole domain of Buddhism. The invocation of *Śrī* the goddess of Luck is typically Vedic. The Buddhist description of the four Indian 'graces, viz., Hope, Faith, Luck and Modesty, is originally Vedic. The human sacrifice is also associated with

the Vedic religion. On the ritualistic side the Vedic religion or secular Brahmanism consisted in oblations to fire and various other kinds of *homa*. Thus we find that the Vedic religion has some influence on Buddhism. The Buddha is represented as a better interpreter of dreams than Brahmins, when he was consulted by king Prasenajit of Kośala at the instance of his queen. The Buddhists adopted the solemn chanting of the *parittas* (saving chants). The essence of the saving chants was the effective expression of the wish by an open declaration of the truth. The Buddha raised his strong voice against cow-killing and beef-eating. In the Buddhist age the hermits represented the Vānaprastha stage of life. They on their retirement from the world built hermitages in secluded places and lived on roots and fruits. Their garments were made of birch-bark or antelope skin. Some of the famous kings of India adopted the life of hermits, e.g., Nagnajit of Gandhāra, Durmukha of Pañcāla, Nimi of Videha, Bhīma of Vidarbha, and Karakaṇḍu of Kalinga. Sarabhaṅga, Kisa-vaccha and Bāvarī were some of the noted hermits in Buddha's time. The corporate or congregational life became manifest among the hermits when a large number of them came to live in one hermitage. In Buddha's time there were three settlements of the Jāṭilas under three Kassapa brothers. The *Parivṛājakas* were wanderers who were teachers or sophists spending eight or nine months every year wandering about with the object of holding discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature lore and mysticism. Like the Greek sophists they differed much in intelligence, earnestness and honesty. They were mendicants and they depended for their sustenance on alms collected from door to door. As distinguished from the hermits they lived a homeless life without having a fixed residence. During the rainy season they used to take shelter in deserted houses, caves, rocky caverns and the like. Some of them were known by their nick-names and some by their *gotra* names.

The principal heretical teachers who were contemporaries of the Buddha were: (1) Pūraṇa Kassapa who held the theory of non-action, (2) Makkhali Gosāla who was philosophically a determinist and ethically a fatalist, (3) Ajita Kesakambali who was an annihilationist denying future existence, (4) Pakudha Kaccāyana who was an eternalist and dualist or pluralist, (5) Sanjaya Belaṭṭhiputta who was a great sceptic and (6) Nigaṇṭha Nāthaṭṭha who was the founder of Jainism.

The Ājīvikas claimed Gosāla as one of the three greatest *avadhūtus* in history. The Sāmaṇa-brāhmaṇa period was

indeed a period during which the religious experiences were sought to be rationalised. The bands of the wandering teachers were no better than great controversialists and disputants. Some of them had to play the rôle of martyrs. The doctrine of *karma* was founded on the widely current popular belief in life hereafter. Much stress was laid upon the betterment of human existence in the life to come. The people in Buddha's time believed that religion was needed for furthering the other worldly interest. The Buddha's arguments went to establish that religion, if rightly and earnestly practised, was of immense service to men and women in the present world as well, its primary function being to improve the personal, family, social, economic, moral, intellectual, and spiritual status of them by showing them the path of deliverance from bondage in all its degrees and forms. The door of higher religious life was also kept open to women of all social grades and ranks, and even to fallen women, some of whom made their marks in history by their changed life. The mass of the people believed in spells, incantations, charms and spirits. There were some popular beliefs in palmistry, auguries drawn from thunderbolts, laying ghosts, snake-charming, etc.

SECTION V

CULTURE

In ancient India precisely as in other early civilised countries, the powerful influence of religion on life was exercised through education and learning. It was by the effort of the religious teachers of various schools of thought that the educational institutions were founded and maintained, and it was under their fostering care that the cause of both education and learning prospered.

The four Vedas, namely *R̥g Veda*, *Yajur Veda*, *Sāma Veda* and *Atharva Veda* formed the basic literary foundation of all branches of Indian learning in general and Brahmanical learning in particular. The *R̥g*, *Yajur* and *Sāma* were considered more authoritative and important from the sacerdotal, literary, religious, social and philosophical points of view. The most ancient was the collection of hymns called the *R̥g Veda*. The collection of select extracts from among the *R̥g* Vedic hymns modified phonetically to meet the requirements of musical chanting, gave rise to the *Sāma Veda*. Similarly the extracts from the *R̥g Veda* modified and enlarged to suit the requirements of sacrificial rituals, gave rise to the *Yajur Veda*. The *Atharvāṅgīrasa* collection of hymns forming as it did the foundation of both science and sorcery, could alone vie with the *R̥g* Vedic collection in antiquity and originality. It was not canonised as a *Veda* until it came to assign in it a rightful place to the *Gṛhya* hymns from the *R̥g Veda* modifying the order of the verses so as to meet the requirements of the *Gṛhya* rituals. The *Atharva Veda* seems to have been popularly believed as the Brahmanical scriptural source of all occult practices, witchcraft, exorcism and the rest. The Vedic hymns became known as *māntṛas* or significant words of mystic potency when properly uttered or chanted and applied. The composition of the hymns and their compilations and explanations took place in different families of Ṛṣis, families in the sense of the lines of agnates and cognates as well as of the lines of teachers and pupils with their branches and sub-branches.

In early Buddhist tradition the pre-eminence is accorded to ten Ṛṣis, viz., Aṣṭaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Viśvāmitra, Yāmadagni, Aṅgīrasa, Bhāradvāja, Vasiṣṭha, Kāśyapa and Bhṛgu. They are introduced as the ancient sages who were the composers and promulgators of the *mantras*. The Tevijja

Brahmins of the Buddha's time chanted, recited, and transmitted the *mantra* texts in the same traditional manner in which these were chanted, expounded and collected by their remote predecessors.

Subsequently during the early Brāhmaṇa period there arose some schools of Brāhmaṇa teachers, such as Addhāriyas, Tittirīyas, Chandokas, Chandāvas and Brahmācariyas, who propounded in different ways the path of attainment to the state of Brahman. Although these Brāhmaṇa schools of teachers propounded the paths, none of them actually realised the state of Brahman by means of *dhyāna* or *yoga* practice. It is through the Brāhmaṇas proper that one can see the process of transition from the *Vedas* to the *Itihāsa-Purāṇas* on the one hand, and to the *Śrauta* and *Grhya sūtras* on the other. One can visualise through the *Āraṇyaka* books the process of transition from the philosophical hymns in the *Rg Veda* to the *Upaniṣads* that had at last gained an independent foothold, in spite of the nominal connection with one or the other of the four *Vedas*. The independence of the *Upaniṣads* as separate books of religious thought was due to the activity of the different schools of the *Parivrājakas* or wandering ascetics and sophists. The *Upaniṣads* embodied the religious experiences and dogmas of these schools. Their subject-matter was *Vedānta* or *Brahmavāda*. The manner in which the Indian sophists carried on philosophical controversies is historically important as indicating the first stage of the development of logic. The second stage was reached in the Buddhist controversies embodied in the *Kathāvatthu*. The Yoga as a form of religious practice inseparably linked up with *Adhyātmaśāstra* assumed some definite shape in the schools of the *Tāpasas*, *Parivrājakas* and *Śramaṇas*. The Yoga practice was developing on two different lines, which became distinguished in later Indian nomenclature as *Rājayoga* and *Hathayoga*. On these was founded the Buddha's system of *dhyāna*, *śamādhi*, and *śamāpatti*. The early Buddhist texts mention two important schools of Yoga, one founded by Ālāra Kālāma and the other founded by Udraka Rāmaputra. The hermitages of Mahāgovinda and Śarabhaṅga are mentioned as two great ancient centres of the Yoga practice. The Sāṅkhya system of philosophy was just one of the forms of *Adhyātmaśāstra* that remained formerly associated with the Yoga practice. The *Śramaṇas* and *Brāhmaṇas* including the *Sākyaputtiya*s contributed much to the development of *Rājadharmā* or principles of royal polity. In one of the oldest Buddhist fragments we are given a list of topics that determined the scope of a work on royal polity. The art of warfare,

the forming of battle arrays, the mobilisation of forces, the methods of offence and defence, the training of the four divisions of the army, the principles of war and peace, the knowledge of handling of weapons of war, etc., appear to have been the subjects of study under *Kṣatrayidyā*, which is taken in the sense of *Dhanurveda* or science of archery or military science.

Early Buddhist texts throw a flood of light on *Āyurveda* in Buddha's time. They refer to *Salākiyaṃ* or ophthalmology and *Sallakattikaṃ* or general surgery. Infant healing, treatment of poison cases, poisoning due to snake-bites, scorpion-bites, etc., were special branches of study. Veterinary science, knowledge of plants, minerals, organic and inorganic substances, knowledge of anatomical details of the human body, physiological functions, selection and preparation of drugs and their applications, the composition of matter, the knowledge of the process of conception, did not escape the attention of the teachers and the taught in the rich sphere of *Āyurveda*.

Astronomy, astrology, exegesis, grammar, and prosody were then fully developed. The study of lunar constellations, their positions, movements, cataclysms and effects received the attention of the ancient Indians who were familiar with the phenomena of solar and lunar eclipses, the names of the seven planets, the appearance and disappearance of the comets, etc. The experts in *Jyotiṣa* were required to make forecasts of all coming events, celestial or terrestrial. The grammar or *vyākaraṇa* was a very important development in Vedic literature. The grammatical system formulated by Pāṇini was one of the most notable achievements in the scientific literature of the world. It was up to Pāṇini's standard that all languages, Sanskrit, Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī, tended to conform. Pāṇini's rules are freely cited in explaining the grammatical formation even of Pāli words.

The science of music, eugenics, and erotic were developed. The science of music was concerned with four main subjects, dancing, singing, playing on musical instruments, and dramatic performances. In connection with the instrumental music (*vādita*) we are supplied with a classical list of musical instruments, which is more or less the same as we find in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. With dancing, singing, and instrumental music was associated also the ballet recitation. The study of the physical and other characteristics of men and women with a view to determining the sexual types to which they belonged and the training of the courtesans in

music and other pleasing arts, came within the scope of the science of eugenics and erotic.

The science of architecture (*Vāstuvidyā*) was also developed. *Vāstuvidyā* and *Vaddhaki-śilpa* (*sippa*) included, as subjects of study, the planning and founding of cities, towns, and villages, the erection of buildings of various styles, palaces, council-halls, forts, gateways, decorative designs, selection and sanctification of sites, examination of soils, selection and preparation of building materials, laying out of parks, gardens and the rest. Carpentry, wood-carvings and stone-masonry were all connected with the art of building.

The early system of education was either academic or vocational or both. The purely Brahmanical education was theological or sectarian in the sense that it was adapted to the requirements of a particular religious order, and so was the system introduced by the Jains, Buddhists and other religious orders of the age.

There were *āśramas* or *āranyaka* schools founded and maintained by the distinguished sages, besides the famous seats of learning at Taxila, Nālandā, Benares, etc. In these schools, the Vedas were chanted and taught. Bāvarī's hermitage on the bank of the Godāvarī was of the type where it was difficult to make accommodation for resident pupils. The *āśramas* of Ālāra Kālāma and Udraka Rāmaputra, situated between Rājagṛha and Uruvelā, were noted for training in Yoga practices. The *āśramas* of the three Jāṭila leaders in the three regions of the *Gayākṣetra* like other Brahmanical schools, laid stress on performances of sacrifices, fire-worships, and purificatory baths in the sacred rivers. Each of the religious orders of the *Brāhmaṇa-Parivrājakas* was a travelling school of thought. To them we owe a new kind of institution called the *Ārāmas* or *Vihāras*. Each institution enforced the rules of conduct and discipline suited to its own ideal. The furtherance of the cause of truth and knowledge in all branches of learning by open discussions was the remarkable feature of their education and cultural activities. As distinguished from the *āśramas*, the *ārāmas* depended wholly on public charities, their founders and adherents having nothing to call their own. The religious orders of the *Śramanas* of which the founders were *Brāhmaṇas* or *Kṣatriyas* were in almost all respects the same as those of the *Brāhmaṇa-Parivrājakas*. The difference between the two lay first in the fact that the *Śramanas* freely admitted into their orders men and women of all social grades, and secondly in the fact that in varying degrees their attitude towards the existing social and religious institutions was one of disapproval. To

popularise learning, to proclaim truth, to raise the moral and social status of men and women, to foster the growth of living languages, etc., were the special tasks to which they devoted themselves. Among the popular teachers of piety and morality mention may be made of ballad-reciters, and improvisators of verses (*paṭibhāṇa kavīs*) through whom the profound truths of philosophy permeated even the lowest stratum of society, but there was a class of Brahmin teachers, called *Nakha* or *Samkhyāpāṣaṇḍa Brāhmaṇas* who roamed about in the country instructing the masses in the law of Karma by means of pictures of happy life in heaven and miserable life in hell that were labelled with appropriate inscriptions. These *caraṇas* or *paṭacitras* having been carved in stones gave rise to the ancient sculptures utilised by the ancient Indians for the purpose of popular education and improvement of fine arts. India saw a school of teachers (*Dhammakathikas*) who dealt generally with the three topics of piety, morality, and heavenly rewards for meritorious deeds. Their preachings were enlivened by similes drawn from everyday life and charming anecdotes. Besides these centres of learning and education of general nature, there were to be found in ancient India the technical schools, e.g., the school of archery at Kapilavastu, where the Śākya youths were taught the military science; the school of carpenters and wood-carvers at Benares, which was maintained on the income of the execution of local orders.

Takkasilā or Takṣaśilā (Taxila) was a great centre of learning in ancient India. Pupils from different parts of India used to visit this place to learn various arts and sciences. Prasenajit, the king of Kośala, was educated here. Jīvaka the famous physician at the court of king Bimbisāra of Magadha, was educated in medicine and surgery in this university. Takka-silā in the country of Gandhāra was an ancient seat of Brahmanical learning. The Brahmin youths, Kṣatriya princes, and sons of bankers from Benares, Rājagṛha, Kośala and other places were either sent or went themselves for learning the first three Vedas and eighteen arts and sciences. Such important subjects as archery, snake-charming, elephant-training, etc., were taught there. Benares was then another important centre of learning.

The *Mahāsālās* also known as *Nahātakasālās* (*Snātakaśālās*) maintained on royal endowments in the kingdoms of Magadha and Kośala, were the residential Vedic Colleges under the *Sotthiyas* or erudite Brāhmaṇas, well posted in the knowledge of the Vedas and Brahmanical literature.

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